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Union League Club
(New York, N.Y.)

Union League Club of the
City of New York

[New York]

[1919]

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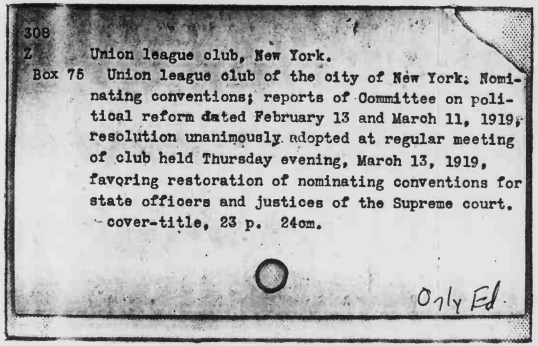
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Box 75 Union league club of the city of New York. Nominating conventions; reports of Committee on political reform dated February 13 and March 11, 1919, resolution unanimously adopted at regular meeting of club held Thursday evening, March 13, 1919, favoring restoration of nominating conventions for state officers and justices of the Supreme court. cover-title, 23 p. 24cm.
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UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK

NOMINATING CONVENTIONS

REPORTS OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFORM DATED FEBRUARY 13 AND MARCH 11, 1919

RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED AT REGULAR MEETING OF CLUB HELD THURSDAY EVENING, MARCH 13, 1919, FAVORING RESTORATION OF NOMINATING CONVENTIONS FOR STATE OFFICERS AND JUSTICES OF THE SUPREME COURT

8 April, 1920 - C. R. W.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

At a regular meeting of the Club held on Thursday evening, March 13, 1919, the following resolution was on motion of Mr. Guthrie, duly seconded, unanimously adopted:

Resolved that the Union League Club of the City of New York approves the report of the Committee on Political Reform dated February 13, and its supplemental report dated March 11, 1919, recommending the restoration of the nominating convention for the nomination of state officers and justices of the Supreme Court, and hereby authorizes and instructs said Committee on its behalf to approve the measure now pending before the New York legislature and known as the Walton-Fearon bill, or any other similar measure seeking to accomplish the result with the same safeguards as to the conclusive title of delegates to their seats and as to the right of electors to indicate their preferences as to nominees, but subject to the qualification suggested in said report of February 13.

Resolved further that said reports and this resolution be printed and copies thereof sent to the Governor and each member of the legislature.

A true copy of resolution as unanimously adopted.

HENRY C. QUINBY,
Secretary.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFORM
submitted at the regular monthly meeting held
February 13, 1919.

The Committee on Political Reform deems it proper that the Club should at this time review the practical operation of the direct primary system in the State of New York and take action upon the pending question whether or not it is advisable to restore the nominating convention for elective state officers.

The subject is receiving widespread public attention. A bill was introduced in the legislature last week, in the Senate by Senator Walton (Senate No. 370, Int. 359) and in the Assembly by Assemblyman Fearon (Assembly No. 480, Int. 468), which, if enacted, will restore the nominating convention for elective state officers. The Republican Club of the City of New York has recently approved the report of a special committee recommending such an amendment of our Election Law on the ground that it would be a distinct reform and be most satisfactory to the people of the State. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York at its annual meeting last month (January 14th) adopted a resolution reiterating its advocacy of an amendment which would provide that candidates for the important state offices of Judge of the Court of Appeals and Justice of the Supreme Court should hereafter be nominated by nominating conventions instead of at direct primary elections. Other organizations have similarly approved the restoration of

the nominating convention. The subject plainly affects our most vital political interests; and, if the present nominating system has been fairly tried during the past six years and found to be disappointing and unsatisfactory, it seems to be the duty of the Club to endeavor to promote the proposed reform.

As will be readily recalled, the state convention as a nominating body was abolished in 1913. It is true that the act of 1913, which in this respect still remains in full force and effect, provided, in section 45, that nothing therein contained should prohibit the holding of a party convention; but this was immediately followed, in section 46, by a provision to the effect that the designation of candidates for party nominations should be "by petition only" as therein set forth. It is well-known that it was the deliberate and avowed intention of the framers of the act of 1913 that party conventions should no longer deal with the most important and essential object which they had theretofore dealt with, namely, the nomination of candidates for public office. Certainly such has been its practical interpretation and effect. No nominations for state office have been made by regular party conventions of the two great parties since 1913, and the candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties at the three elections held in 1914, 1916 and 1918, respectively, were nominated under the direct primary system. The party conventions or conferences that have been held have avoided the subject of nominations as tabooed.

In 1914, the first year of the operation of the direct primary system, while it was an attractive novelty and seemed to promise "nominations by the people," there was an increase of party enrollment and of participation

in primary elections; but such interest has not been maintained. For example, in the County of New York the number of enrolled voters of the Republican Party has been almost doubled, increasing from 56,108 in 1914 to 103,631 in 1918; but although the primary vote was 41.5 per cent. of the enrollment in 1914, it was only 27.8 per cent. in 1918.* A peak of absurdity was reached in the state campaign of 1916 when Mr. Whitman became the official candidate of the so-called "American Party" because throughout the whole State he had 38 votes on primary day while Mr. Seabury had one less, or 37 votes, and in the eleventh congressional district a total primary vote of two made a Socialist the official candidate of his party for Congress. Equally absurd was the compulsory holding of primary elections at very great expense in innumerable instances where there was no contest at all and the candidates nominated or designated by petition were wholly unopposed. Nevertheless the performance had to be gone through of holding an official primary election. In each of these gubernatorial campaigns the candidate of a great party for the high and vitally important office of Governor of the State of New York was nominated by a minority of the enrolled voters. Last year (1918), notwithstanding an active party contest

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REPUBLICAN VOTE.

Enrollment	*Primary Vote*	*November Vote*
1914..... 56,108	23,305 or 41.5 p.c.	85,478
1916..... 68,052	24,696 " 36.5 "	105,147
1918.....103,631	28,866 " 27.8 "	101,075

DEMOCRATIC VOTE.

Enrollment	*Primary Vote*	*November Vote*
1914.....152,693	48,673 or 36.6 p.c.	90,666
1916..... 137,026	32,118 " 23.3 "	133,179
1918.....191,587	60,169 " 31.4 "	206,081

between Governor Whitman and Attorney General Lewis, the primary vote of the County of New York was only 27 per cent. of the enrollment, and this showing in our own midst was much more favorable to the experiment of direct primaries than the results in other counties of the State. In fact, in a number of counties the electors seem now to take far less interest in state politics than under the old convention system, although in New York and some other counties, the enrollment and primary vote have increased.

In the light of these developments of practical experience, it must be manifest that there is much to support the general opinion that the experiment has not been a success and that it has not brought about the improvements in nominations and nominating machinery that the advocates of the direct primary system predicted.

It is, of course, a truism that the constantly increasing functions of the modern state have made the executive and administrative departments the most important and powerful branches of our governments, and that the increasing complexity of governmental machinery has rendered it absolutely essential that competent and trained public officials be chosen. Government is becoming more and more a scientific business, and expert knowledge and special capacity and training are more and more required in executive and administrative offices. In our own State, the annual budget is now over $73,000,000, and state officers may tax $12,587,000,000 of assessed valuations. The test of a good government is ever its ability to produce economical and satisfactory administration. Indeed, efficiency and economy in government depend in final results much more upon the competency and character of the men who administer it than upon the provisions of the constitutions or laws they administer. The maxim, constantly on the lips of so many, that a government of laws and not of men is the controlling test and desideratum, is often misunderstood, for history has repeatedly shown that the best system of laws in the hands of incompetent, inefficient and dishonest administrators may produce far worse results than an inferior or defective system in the hands of competent, efficient and honest administrators.

We must, therefore, appreciate the truth that the selection of candidates for elective state office constitutes the most difficult and important task and the highest duty that our electorate is called upon to perform. In order to perform that duty intelligently and advisedly it is imperative that there shall be adequate and reliable means of information as to the merits, availability and qualification of candidates, with full opportunity for conference, exchange of views, debate and criticism, and with effective methods of cooperation and organization in support of qualified and satisfactory nominees. With political parties composed of hundreds of thousands of enrolled voters scattered throughout such an extensive territory as the Empire State, it is ordinarily impossible to secure intelligent concert of action without the opportunities for exchange of views and conference which the conventions afforded.

The one great contribution which the English speaking race has made to the science of politics has been what is known as the representative principle, and it has been truly declared that during the past two centuries every lasting liberty secured for the individual and every last-

ing reform towards stability in government and permanent effectiveness in administration have been by and through the representative system. The vivifying spirit or essence of that principle is the determination of all important questions of government by delegates or representatives chosen by the people. The fundamental assumption—and it has proved generally to be sound—is that these representatives can act more intelligently and can better discern the true interests of the community or commonwealth than a multitude of voters scattered over an extensive territory. Government under the representative principle requires not merely legislation by the chosen representatives of the people, but the practical conduct of the executive department and its administrative branches by or under officials chosen by representatives of the people.

If, as seems to be generally recognized by students of the science of government, the important and necessary function of legislating or formulating a constitution is in the long run best performed by a representative body composed of delegates from every part of a state, and if it would be concededly unwise and unsafe to vest the law-making power either in the executive branch or in the mass of voters, should it not likewise follow that the equally important function of choosing candidates for high executive or judicial office and of formulating party policies and platforms will be better performed by a representative body, such as a delegate convention, than by being left to the mass of voters widely scattered and unable to unite and confer together? If more intelligent legislation and wiser action are likely to result from a representative body than from the confusion and frequently the unavoidable ignorance of a multitude of voters, it surely follows that more intelligent and discriminating choice of candidates for executive and judicial offices will be made by chosen representatives, as in nominating conventions, than by the people at large, particularly in such a constituency as the State of New York with a population of over 10,000,000 and with over 3,000,000 voters dispersed over an area of more than 50,000 square miles.

It should also be borne in mind that our system of republican government differs from the representative governments of Europe in the separation of powers. In England, France and Italy, the legislators, that is, the delegates or representatives of the people in parliament, not only legislate but appoint and control all executive and administrative officers and supervise all the executive and administrative branches of the government. In a word, the legislative and executive powers are there united in the same body. Hence in electing legislators they also elect administrators. But under our system the legislative branch does not elect or appoint executive officers. And this is the reason why it is essential that executive and judicial officers shall be nominated by duly qualified representatives of the electorate if we are to preserve the spirit and substance of the representative principle in connection with the nomination and selection of state officers.

Under the present direct primary system, the voters of a small portion of the State can put a candidate in nomination by petition for any elective state office, and any number of names may be placed on the official primary ballot. In fact, twenty or more names can be placed on

the official primary ballot of a party as candidates for an elective office, and the person receiving a plurality of the votes cast will be the candidate of a great party, to whose support the party will be committed and for whose conduct in office the party will be responsible, although the successful candidate may be entirely unknown to nineteen-twentieths of the voters at that particular primary election, except of course in the case of the candidates for Governor as to whom the press furnishes more or less full information. Thus, in view of the small number of those participating in primaries, a small minority of the voters at a primary election may readily nominate a candidate of whose qualifications and personal character the majority of the party are wholly ignorant and, if known, whom they would feel constrained and in duty bound to repudiate. There is no way of ascertaining for whom petitions are being circulated; no publicity is required or provided for even after the time has expired for filing petitions, and in many instances the great majority of enrolled voters have no knowledge whatever as to many of the candidates for office on the official primary ballots until they open their ballots at the polling places. With many voters, they might often as well select their candidates by lot from the names placed on the official primary ballots. This ignorance may account for the very large number of blank ballots at every primary or general election. The press is either partisan or uninterested, and it generally fails to discuss fairly or fully the qualification and character of candidates. Practically no publicity or advertisement of the merits of a candidate can be secured except at great expense, quite beyond the means of the ordinary man. There is a

specific provision in the Election Law that party funds shall not be expended for primary purposes, and the whole burden of the expense of a primary campaign is, therefore, cast upon the respective candidates and their supporters.

Moreover, many careful and anxious observers of the operation of the direct primary system have become convinced that the result has been both to increase the power of the regular organizations or machines or "bosses," and to render them irresponsible. The organization or boss can now act in secret behind closed doors and without accountability to any one except the inner circle. The leaders frequently whisper their orders over the telephone to the workers in the several districts, preserving no record, and the desired result is accomplished. If an unfit and improper nomination is the result, the leaders can disclaim all responsibility, and say that it is the spontaneous will of the sovereign people. As the vote at the primary is secret, no one can be blamed or held accountable; there is no individual or group of individuals upon whom responsibility can ever be fastened. If it be argued that as matter of fact there is actual responsibility and that everyone knows it, this is an admission that, after all, the machine or boss in fact still rules, and now more effectively than ever. In truth, the result is either the increased domination of the machine or boss, or the disintegration of party ties and discipline.

As has been pointed out by many able writers, the convention system in the past has been of inestimable service to the country. With all its faults and abuses, it afforded the highest test of a political representative institution in a democratic community and the soundest application of

the principle of representation or delegated authority. It operated to bind party elements firmly together; it afforded full opportunity for exchange of views, criticism and debate—for the propagation of party principles—for the conciliation of factions. It inspired enthusiastic party life. And it was a principal cause of party success and of the maintenance and perpetuation of party principles and policies, as well as of political faith and devotion. It seems to your Committee no exaggeration to assert that the convention was and still is the best instrument for securing concert of choice and responsible and intelligent action by large bodies consisting of millions of voters belonging to the same political party and believing in the same political faith, principles and policies.

It is undoubtedly true that there have been grave abuses in the convention system and that conventions have been at times corruptly organized and conducted. The scandals in connection with contested seats were intolerable and disgraceful. But there has been no form of abuse or corruption which could not have been remedied by appropriate and intelligent legislation, or which could not have been prevented in New York, for example, by action of the voters if the legislation of the past twenty-five years had been generally availed of by the majority in each party. The control of nominations was at all times in the hands of the majority if they would only have taken the trouble to enroll and vote at primary elections for competent delegates to conventions. In final analysis there will be found to be no remedy for fraud or corruption in nominations for office equal to the participation in politics of the majority of electors as an imperative duty of citizenship. The idea that the direct primary

would eliminate the professional politician and the boss has been shown to be false in every state where the scheme has been tried. Indeed, quite the contrary has been the result, and the last condition is beginning to be worse than the first.

The pending Walton-Fearon bill, to which reference has already been made, seems to your Committee to have been ably and carefully prepared. It is substantially the same bill that was introduced in 1918, and then approved by many organizations favoring the restoration of the state convention, including the Bar Association. It again provides (section 113) for the credentials of delegates in such manner as to make them "conclusively entitled to their seats, rights and votes as delegates to such convention." If enacted, there can be no contest as to seats in the convention itself, and no possibility of the scandals which disgraced conventions in the past when Committees on Contested Seats arbitrarily threw out one set of delegates in order to seat another set. The only remedy in cases of contested seats would then be in the courts by summary process. The bill further provides (section 48) that delegates may be pledged to a candidate, but the wording of this clause is not satisfactory, for the result might be to create an impasse or to render inevitable the nomination of a minority candidate. The solution probably will be—at least this would seem to be eminently proper—that the delegates shall be bound to vote in favor of the preferred candidate for, say, three or four ballots, but be thereafter at liberty to exercise their individual judgment. The bill preserves the right to make independent nominations, and in this respect furnishes adequate protection against improper nominations by conventions.

Your Committee recommends that the Club approve the restoration of the state convention for the nomination of candidates to be voted for by all the electors of the State and candidates for the office of Justice of the Supreme Court as provided for in the pending Walton-Fearon bill and that it authorize and instruct the Committee on its behalf to approve this bill or any other similar measure seeking to accomplish the same result with the same safeguards as to the rights of delegates and as to the right of electors to indicate their preferences, subject as to the latter to the qualification above expressed.

All of which is respectfully submitted for the consideration and action of the Club.

New York, February 13, 1919.

By order of the
COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFORM,
WILLIAM D. GUTHRIE, Chairman,
MARTIN L. STOVER, Vice-Chairman,
J. VAN VECHTEN OLCOTT, Secretary.

After the reading of the above and discussion of the subject, it was on motion duly made and seconded

Resolved that the consideration of the report of the Committee on Political Reform, dated February 13, 1919, be adjourned until the next regular meeting of the Club and that notice be given by the Secretary of the subject to be then presented for discussion.

Resolved further that said report be printed and a copy sent by the Secretary to each member of the Club.

UNION LEAGUE CLUB OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK.

SUPPLEMENTAL REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFORM on subject of Nominating Conventions, presented at the regular monthly meeting held on March 13, 1919.

The COMMITTEE ON POLITICAL REFORM presents this supplemental report upon the subject of the restoration of the nominating convention for the nomination of state officers and justices of the Supreme Court.

I. Since the submission of the report of February 13, 1919, the Republican County Committee of the County of New York has approved the restoration of the nominating convention for state officers by a vote, as we are informed, of four to one, and the Republican Club has caused to be introduced in the Legislature a bill to bring about the necessary amendments of the Election Law. The Walton-Fearon bill discussed in our prior report will shortly come up for hearing and consideration in the Senate and Assembly.

Statistics have been obtained from most of the counties of the State, and they fully confirm the view heretofore expressed that a minority of the enrolled voters throughout the State—in some counties a comparatively small minority—take part in the primary elections, that this is so even where there is an active and vigorous contest, and that the nomination of candidates for state offices is invariably made by a minority of the enrolled voters in both of the great parties.

II. Your Committee is informed that at this session, as was the case at the session of 1918, a majority of the Republican members of the Senate and Assembly, respectively, favor the restoration of the nominating convention for state officers and justices of the Supreme Court, and believe that this will promote the best interests of the State at large and the solidarity and usefulness of the two great and responsible political parties.

One of the distinguished members of this Club, Mr. Wadsworth, the Senior United States Senator from New York, writes your Committee in reference to the report of February 13, as follows:

> "Every line of it meets with my approval and support. The direct primary system, as applied to state elective offices in the State of New York, is a failure and, in some instances, it has proved to be a farce. I certainly hope the Legislature will restore the state nominating convention and also the conventions for nominating judges of the Supreme Court. There is no reason on earth why such conventions cannot be properly safeguarded by law and the old abuses, which gave rise to so much complaint, prevented."

Republican Congressman Hicks from Long Island, who has twice run the gauntlet of the direct primary and who was successful last year in both the Republican and Democratic primaries because of his exceptionally patriotic and brilliant record in Congress, writes us as follows.

> "I feel that the state wide primary for state offices has not worked out the way many people hoped it would. It has entailed great expense and an enormous amount of work on candidates, and has made it almost prohibitory for a man of moderate means to seek a state office, unless he has financial backing.

> "I have talked with a number of our Congressmen and feel that there is a growing sentiment among them that the old convention should be revived."

Mr. William Church Osborn of this City, at one time Chairman of the Democratic State Committee and last year a candidate at the Democratic primary for the office of Governor, writes us:

> "It seems to me that the most serious feature of the development of the direct primary system is the outcome that a candidate must either get organization support or spend a huge sum for the nomination. . . . I have no objection to your quoting me as being in favor of the restoration of a convention with proper safeguards. In fact, I shall be very glad to be openly on that side. You may also state that the statements of my expenses in the last campaign showed about $35,000. This was almost entirely for newspaper advertising, and I did not attempt to make an organization campaign."

Last week, in editorially commenting on the recent repeal of the direct primary law in the State of Idaho, one of the first States to adopt the system, the Philadelphia "Evening Bulletin," issue of March 5th, used the following language:

> "The experience of Idaho in failing to make it a success has taken place so often elsewhere that its return to the delegate-convention method of nominating all candidates for State office and for Congress, is likely to facilitate other movements in that direction.
>
> "Under the direct primary law in Pennsylvania, for example, there has been much of the same sort of dissatisfaction and disappointments over its results as have caused both Republicans and Democrats in Idaho, after a ten years' trial, to abandon the system in their state affairs.
>
> "The average of fitness and character in nominees has not been raised by it here; the power of politi-

cians over their party organizations is pretty much the same, and the expenditure of money has come to be greater than it ever was.

"As it is now, the bosses carry on business under it quite as effectively as they did at the old stand, and probably nowhere more to their satisfaction than in the primary elections in Philadelphia."

And one of the leading newspapers of the Middle West, the Minneapolis Journal, reviewing the practical operation of the direct primary in New York two years ago, among other things said:

"One of the worst things about the direct primary, unless it is fitted out with a convention adjunct, is its deadening influence on party organization. When party organization fails, interest in governmental affairs sinks to a low ebb. The primary then offers golden opportunities for self-seekers and demagogues. Government degenerates, too, because it is conducted as a personal and individual responsibility, instead of on the responsibility of parties whose principles and aims are known."

III. Your Committee ventures to assume that all the members of the Union League Club believe that the existence of political parties is essential to the welfare and best interests of the State and to ensure permanency and stability in our political policies. The value of the service rendered to the American people by the great political parties is incalculable; and if the organization and cohesiveness of these parties are to be undermined, the result must inevitably be a most serious injury to the body politic. Whether we regard political parties, on the one hand, as organizations of men believing in the same political faith, principles and policies and uniting to introduce or uphold those principles and policies, or, on the other hand, merely as organizations to secure office and administer government—both of which aspects present patriotic motives—it is certainly desirable that political parties should be maintained, and particularly that there should be two great responsible parties each striving for control and ready to assume the responsibility of government and of the adoption of particular policies and measures. A public official who belongs to a great political party and owes his preferment to that party is under a double sense of responsibility for efficiency, honesty and consistency in public office. He has a sense of responsibility and duty to the State as a whole, and he has a sense of responsibility and duty to his party, and both are moral factors of inestimable worth in securing integrity, efficiency and industry in public office.

Political parties in America have long given stability to governmental policies and have created the only effective restraint upon disintegration and individual caprice or demagogism. There must be consistency and coherence in political forces; there must be concentration and direction of the political energy of communities; there must be some systematic and practical method of investigating the qualifications of candidates and selecting competent public officials, and there must be harmony and cooperation in governmental policies. These can be secured in the long run only by and through permanently organized and disciplined political parties. It is earnestly submitted that no other method has yet been discovered by which effectively to express political opinion, secure stability in governmental administration and policies, and render effectual the sober second-thought

and the true and permanent judgment of an instructed and intelligent free people.

IV. A special committee of the New York Senate in March, 1918, after careful and exhaustive investigation of the operation of direct primaries, submitted a bill to restore the state nominating convention, somewhat similar to the Walton-Fearon bill which your Committee recommends should be now approved in substance by the Club. In that report, after reviewing the practical results of the direct primary system in the State of New York and pointing out the physical impossibility of hundreds of thousands of individuals assembling in order to confer and exchange views as to party policies and party candidates, the Committee used language fully applicable to the measure now pending before our legislature, as follows:

> "We propose an amendment to the election law which will provide for the election of such an assemblage of each political party in the state, that each may make manifest, after consultation and deliberation, what its aims are, and at such meeting or convention, propose candidates in support of such aims. Every member of a political party, and every citizen should know what are the purposes and principles of the parties existing in this state. No such purpose can be established by any direct action at a primary. It can only be made clear by a convention of representatives chosen at a direct primary in which all the enrolled voters of each party will have the right to participate.
>
> "The present law makes any such expression impossible, in that it provides only for nomination of candidates, who may or may not write their own platforms, making them in effect, independent candidates for office, and not representatives of a group

organized for the political purposes in which it believes. The present law provides for a complete party machinery for each political party by the election of county and state committeemen, placing the sanction of law and the control of law upon the party organization, but in effect denying to political parties the right of representative assemblage. Party aims and purposes cannot be articulated by candidates who may be nominated, because they, themselves, have no method of discovering what is the party will, unless there be an assemblage of representatives regularly chosen through direct action of the members of the party.

"What we propose is not a state convention as formerly constituted, the delegates to which were elected in many cases without direct action on the part of the enrolled voters of the party, but a convention of delegates from each Assembly District in the state who must be designated, as candidates for office now are designated, by petition for the party position of delegate, and be chosen by a majority vote of the party in the district.

"The right to sit in the convention will be derived solely from the electors and will be officially certified subject to review only by the court. There can therefore be no contested seats in the convention.

"We have provided also opportunity for such electors joining in a petition in behalf of proposed delegates that such proposed delegates may be pledged to the nomination of a certain candidate for a State office, if these enrolled electors so desire. Thus the enrolled voters are given every opportunity to express their will for candidates, as well as for delegates who will meet in party assemblage to declare the representative party will.

"We are also proposing that candidates for Judges of the Supreme Court in the several judicial districts, shall be similarly nominated by delegates directly elected on primary day. It is inherent in the functions of the judicial office that the office should seek the man, and not the man the office."

Ex-President Taft is quoted in the New York Times as having stated in one of his addresses:

> "But of all the evils which are supposed to be a cure for all evils the direct primary is the worst. The primary so works that it can only be used by the rich man who can build up his own machine, or by the regular machine. Both of these things the primary is supposed to abolish.
>
> "The general primary is a fraud. I have confidence in the American people, although many say I have not. I have confidence enough in them to tell them the truth. The man who expresses the truth shows more confidence in the people than the man who is always talking about the voice of the people being the voice of God.
>
> "From a boss-ridden convention with deliberation, you will get better candidates than you will through the primary. As an example of what the primaries can do, I will say that they have already seriously impaired the standard of the judiciary."

V. It should be added that the state nominating convention gave the State of New York as Governors a long list of able and distinguished Republican statesmen, and lest we forget, it may not be useless to recall their names: Reuben E. Fenton, General John A. Dix, Alonzo B. Cornell, Levi P. Morton, Frank S. Black, Theodore Roosevelt, Benjamin B. Odell, Frank W. Higgins and Charles E. Hughes. A system that resulted in the nomination of such men could not have been inherently or in practice quite so bad as it has been painted, and it could hardly be deemed unsound or unrepresentative. It should also be added that Governor Hughes did not recommend or advocate the system of direct primary nominations for state offices now in force and operation, and that he has never approved the present Election Law in this respect.

All of which is respectfully submitted together with the report of February 13th, for the consideration and action of the Club.

New York, March 11, 1919.

By order of the Committee on Political Reform.

WILLIAM D. GUTHRIE, Chairman,
MARTIN L. STOVER, Vice-Chairman,
J. VAN VECHTEN OLCOTT, Secretary.

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